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LATIN DIMINUTION OF ADJECTIVES. II

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V. DETERIORATIVE ADJECTIVES

36. The suffix of a deteriorative adjective, just as that of the hypocoristic adjectives (sec. 28), can express an emotion felt toward the modified substantive only or for the quality designated by the deteriorative adjective as well; the latter e.g. in *improbulus*: *improbus* 'wicked,' *lentulus*: *lentus* 'slow,' or *turpiculus*: *turpis* 'base'; the former e.g. in *albulus*: *albus* 'white,' *gemellus*: *geminus* 'twin-born,' or *eruditulus*: *eruditus* 'learned.' This distinction, however, will not be made the basis of classification, because, as with the corresponding hypocorisms, too often one cannot be certain to which class a deteriorative may belong. Thus in Mart. 5. 61 *Crispulus iste quis est?* is the subject despised *because* of his curled hair, or was that feature mentioned simply as a distinguishing mark?

37. Our examples will rather be divided, as were the hypocoristic adjectives, according to the more precise value of the suffix. As was seen in sec. 8, the 'diminutives' in *-lo-* and its conglomerates, far outnumbering those in *-culo-*, developed their deteriorative value from the diminutive and hypocoristic, and consequently a far larger number than e.g. of Greek substantival deterioratives in *-lov*, which developed their meaning directly from that of similarity,¹ show a combination of the pejorative value with the diminutive on the one hand, and the hypocoristic on the other. Aside from these two groups the deterioratives can be divided into two others according to whether the emotion is contempt or rather hate or anger ("imprecatory diminutives").² As a matter of fact the emotion which is secondary to small size must needs be contempt, and similarly the one derived from hypocoristic use (see sec. 39). We thus get four classes: (1) diminutive-deteriorative adjectives, (2) hypocoristic-deteriorative adjectives, (3) adjectives expressing contempt without diminutive or hypocoristic notion, (4) adjectives expressing hate or anger.

¹ Cf. sec. 8.

² Thus called by Edgerton *JAOS* 31. 138 f.

1. *Diminutive-Deteriorative Adjectives*

38. The development from 'small' to 'of little value or strength' to 'contemptible' is so easy as to be found in practically all frequent diminutive suffixes.¹ As examples of the transition when both notions were present might be mentioned some examples quoted above as true diminutives, e.g. *tantulus* (second and third example, sec. 15), *tantillus* (second example, sec. 15), *tenuiculus* (sec. 17), *paullulus* (second example, sec. 17), *macellus* (sec. 18), *bimulus* (first example, sec. 19), *Graeculus* (sec. 26); cf. also sec. 20. Other examples follow:

acutulus: *acutus* 'acute, subtile': Gell. 17. 5. 3 *rhetoricus* *ex istis acutulis et minutis doctoribus, qui τεχνικοί appellantur*.
barbatulus: *barbatus* 'bearded': Cic. Att. 1. 14. 5 *concurabant barbatuli*² *juvenes, totus ille grex Catalinae*. **misellus:** *miser* 'wretched': Plaut. Rud. 2. 6. 66 *Eheu! redactus sum usque ad unam hanc tuniculam Et ad hoc misellum*³ *pallium*. **parvulus:** *parvus* 'small': Lucr. 4. 1162 *Nigra melichrus est, immunda et fetida acosmos, Caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas, Parvula, pumilio*. **pauculi:** *pauci* 'few': Vulg. 1. Regg. 17. 28 *Quare dereliquisti pauculos oves illas in deserto?* **pauillulus:** *paullus* 'small': Gell. N.A. praef. 16 *an minutae istae admonitiones et pauillulae*⁴ *nequaquam tamen sint vel ad alendum studium vescae vel, etc.* **pusillus:** *pusus* (cf. sub sec. 18): Cic. Fam. 2. 17. 7 *Illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentis jejuni atque inanis*; Juv. 15. 70 *Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos*. **quantulus:** *quantus* 'how much': App. M. 9. 35 *cladibus amici quantulum quantulum ferentes auxilium*; Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 1 *quantulum*⁴ *judicare possemus*. **scitulus:** *scitus* 'handsome, elegant': Arn. 5. 31 *quis (sc. edidit) scitulos pusiones atque adultos venustissimis lineis adpetitos esse incesti?* **vesculus:** *vescus* 'little, trifling': Fest. p. 379 Müller *Vesculi male curati et graciles homines*.

Three words of the same kind end in *-culo-*: **breviculus:** *brevis* 'short': Plaut. Merc. 3. 4. 54 *Canum (sc. esse aiebant), varum,*

¹ Cf. Brugmann Gr. 2. 1². 681 f.

² The diminutive notion here is youth instead of small size.

³ The diminutive notion here consists of the feeling that a *tunica* and a *pallium* were as small as well as insignificant remnant of former wealth.

⁴ In passages like these the cause of the diminutive-deteriorative is a desire to appear modest and to represent as small and insignificant something of one's self.

ventriosum, bucculentum, breviculum, Subnigris oculis, oblongis malis, pansam aliquantulum; App. M. 1. 12 *Grabatulus alioquin breviculus et uno pede mutilus ac putris*. **leviculus**: *levis* 'light': Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 36. 103 *Leviculus sane noster Demosthenes, qui illo susurro delectari se dicebat aquam ferentis mulierculae . . . insusurrantisque alteri: 'Hic est ille Demosthenes'*; Gell. 13. 31. 15 *Quid significet prandium caninum, rem leviculam, diu et anxie quaesivimus*. **mediocriculus**: *mediocris* 'middling': Cato *ap. Fest.* p. 154 Müller *Ridibundum magistratum, pauculos homines, mediocriculum exercitum obviam duci*.

2. Hypocoristic-Deteriorative Adjectives

39. Contempt is derived from hypocoristic uses of a suffix when e.g. admiration for neatness, elegance, or luxuriousness changes to contempt because of changed circumstances or a changed point of view, as in the deterioratives *comatulus* 'with luxuriant hair' (: *comatus*), *crispulus* 'with crisp or curly hair' (: *crispus*), or *eruditulus* 'learned' (: *eruditus*). The qualities of having luxuriant or curly hair would naturally cause contempt among the less foppish, and the quality of being learned is often referred to ironically among the less learned, or may cause contempt when the kind of learning is a worthless one. Furthermore, hypocorisms of the kind mentioned as well as expressions of endearment become deteriorative when used ironically, as when *beatulus* 'a happy or sainted fellow' is applied to a rascal, or when *pulchellus*: *pulcher* 'beautiful' is applied to a deformed person, or when a term of endearment which is perfectly in place when given to women becomes transferred to men, as *tenellus* 'tender' and *molliculus* 'soft, delicate.' A most surprising turn is sometimes given a passage by the use of an ironical hypocoristic derivative from an adjective whose meaning seems to exclude such a possibility, e.g. *audaculus*: *audax* 'daring' in Petr. 63. 5 *Habebamus tunc hominem Cappadocem longum, valde audaculum, et qui valebat bovem iratum tollere* (as though 'a nice courageous little fellow,' in spite of his size and strength). Similarly *feroculus*: *ferox* 'fierce' Turp. *ap. Non.* 75. 30 "*Ne me attigat atque aufer manum!*" "*Heia! quam ferocula est!*"¹ Auct. B. Afr. 16. 1 *quid, tu, . . . miles tiro, tam feroculus es?*

¹ The exclamation shows that *ferocula* is not 'somewhat fierce.'

40. *Collection of examples.* **astutulus**: *astutus* 'astute': App. M. 9. 30 *Unde autem tu, astutule asine, . . . quid secreto, ut affirmas, mulieres gesserint, scire potuisti?* **audaculus** (see sec. 39); cf. also Gell. 5. 21. 4 *Aderat, cum ille hoc dicit, reprehensor audaculus verborum, qui perpauca eademque a volgo protrita legerat habebatque nonnullas disciplinae grammaticae inauditiunculas*; Sulp. Apoll. ap. Gell. 15. 5. **beatulus**: *beatus* 'happy, sainted': Pers. 3. 103 *tandemque beatulus alto Compositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis In portam rigidas calces extendit.* **bellule** (adverb): *bellus* 'beautiful': App. M. 10. 16 *At ego, quamquam jam bellule suffarcinatus . . . esurienter exhibitas escas appetebam.* **blandiloquentulus**: *blandiloquens* 'speaking coaxingly': Plaut. Trin. 2. 1. 18 *subdole blanditur* (sc. Amor), *ab re consulit, Blandiloquentulus, harpago, mendax, cuppes, avarus, elegans, despoliator.* **cincinnatulus**: *cincinnatus* 'with curled hair': Hier. Ep. 130 n. 19 *Quid fugiendum . . . Cincinnatulos pueros et calamistratos.* **comatulus**: *comatus* 'having long or luxurious hair': Hier. Ep. 54 n. 13 *Juvenum fuge consortia. Comatulos, comptos, atque lascivos domus tuae tectae non videant.* **crispulus**: *crispus* 'with curly hair': Sen. Ep. 66. 25 *Paulatim fastidium tuum illo usque procedet, ut ex duobus aequae justis ac prudentibus comatum et crispulum malis*; Mart. 5. 61 *Crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret Qui, Mariane, tuae? Crispulus iste quis est?* Figuratively Fronto Or. Ep. 3. p. 248 *Dicis fortasse, quid in orationibus meis novicium, quid crispulum, quid luscum, quid purpurisso litum, aut pollutum?* **eruditulus**: *eruditus*: Cat. 57. 7 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique, Uno in lectulo, erudituli ambo.* **feroculus** (see sec. 39). **integellus**: *integer* 'safe, uninjured': Cic. Fam. 9. 10. 2 *Sed tamen suavissimum συμβωτην nostrum praestabo integellum, nec committam ut, si ego eum condemnaro, tu restituas.* **mollicellus**: *mollis* 'soft, tender': Cat. 25. 10 *Ne laneum latusculum manusque mollicellas Inusta turpiter tibi flagella conscribillent.* **mundulus**: *mundus* 'neat, spruce': Plaut. Truc. 3. 1. 14 *Ne ego urbanos istos mundulos amasios Hoc ictu exponam.* **perastutulus**: *perastutus* 'very crafty': App. M. 9. 5 *Tunc mulier callida et ad huiusmodi flagitia perastutula.* **pulchellus**: *pulcher* 'beautiful': Crass. ap. Cic. de Or. 2. 65. 262 *Audiamus . . . pulchellum puerum* (of one deformed). **religiosulus**: *religiosus* 'religious': Hier. Adv. Ruf. 3. 7 *Queris cur opponam clypeam pugioni tuo, et tibi*

quasi religiosulus et sanctulus personam humilitatis imponis. **sanc-tulus:** *sanctus* 'holy': see sub *religiosulus*. **subargutulus:** *subargutus* 'somewhat subtle': Gell. 15. 30. 1 *Qui ab alio genere vitae detriti jam et retorridi ad literarum disciplinas serius adeunt, si forte idem sunt garruli natura et subargutuli, oppido quam fiunt in literarum ostentatione inepti et frivoli.* **tenellus:** *tener* 'tender': Domit. Mart. Poet. ap. Suet. Gram. 16 *Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum.*

Also one word in *-culo-*: **molliculus:** *mollis* 'soft, tender': Charisius 183 P *molliculus adulescentulus.*

3. *Deteriorative Adjectives without Recognizable Diminutive-Hypocoristic Elements*

41. As was indicated in sec. 37, the emotion prompting the use of a deteriorative suffix may be not only contempt of a more or less intense character, but also hatred or anger. The latter was no doubt a secondary use which may be explained by the scorn with which a contemptible object is frequently viewed, and from scorn to hatred without contempt is but a little step. Both emotions are present, e.g. in the use of **albulus:** *albus* 'white' in Cat. 29. 8 *Et ille nunc superbus et superfluens Perambulabit omnium cubilia Ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus?* The cause of the use of the adjectival diminutive here is surely the scorn and hatred for the subject as well as the contempt for the dove with which he is compared. A similar combination occurs in **ebriolus:** *ebrius* 'intoxicated': Plaut. Curc. 1. 3. 35 *quid ais, propudium? . . . Ebriola persolla, nugae.* On the other hand, contempt seems to be altogether absent or at least thoroughly subordinate in the following cases: **acutulus:** *acutus* 'sharp': App. M. 6. 27 *Nec tamen acutulae annus milvinos oculos effugere potui.* **callidulus:** *callidus* 'cunning': Arn. 2. 68 *hunc similiter morem non fraude callidula et nominum ambiguitate mutastis?* **limulus:** *limus* 'askance': Plaut. Bacch. 5. 2. 12 *Viden limulis, opsecro, ut intuentur?* **litteratulus:** *litteratus* 'learned': Hier. Adv. Ruf. 1. n. 30 *En tu, qui in me parvam criminariis scientiam, et videris tibi litteratulus atque Rabbi, responde.* **vastulus:** *vastus* 'huge': App. M. 2. 32 *ecce tres quidem vegentes et vastulis corporibus fores nostras ex summis viribus irruentes.*

42. Aside from these few examples in which hatred or anger is certainly dominant, it will not be practicable to attempt to separate these emotions from contempt, since the latter *may* nearly always be present and dominant. All other examples of deteriorative adjectives will therefore now be given in alphabetical order:

argutulus: *argutus* 'verbose': Cic. *Att.* 13. 18 *Perfeci sane argutulos¹ libros ad Varronem.* **aridulus:** *aridus* 'dry': Cat. 64. 310 (of the Fates) *Laneaque aridulis² haerebant morsa labellis.* **auritulus:** *auritus* 'long-eared': *Phaedr.* 1. 11. 6 *Hic (sc. asinus) auritulus Clamorem subito tollit.* **cerritulus:** *cerritus* 'crazy, mad': Mart. *Cap.* 8 sec. 806 *velut cerritulum garrientem.* **deliculus:** *delicucus* 'wanting, blemished': Cato *R.R.* 2. 7 *boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas³ vendat.* **dicaculus:** *dicax* 'talkative': Plaut. *As.* 3. 1. 8 (in an altercation) *Satis dicacula es amatrix.* **ebriolus:** *ebrius* 'intoxicated': *id. Curc.* 2. 3. 15 *Tristes atque ebrioli incedunt.* **gemellus:** *geminus* 'twin-born': Cat. 57. 6 *Morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique;* Hor. *S.* 2. 3. 244 *pravorum et amore gemellum.* **Graeculus:** *Graecus* 'Greek': Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 35. 86 *Ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum;* *id. Fl.* 10. 23 *motum quendam temerarium Graeculae contionis;* *id. De Or.* 1. 11. 47 *Verbi enim controversia jam diu torquet Graeculos homines, contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis.* **horridulus:** *horridus* 'rough, rude': *id. Or.* 45. 152 *orationes illae ipsae horridulae Catonis;* Mart. 10. 98. 9 *Praesta de grege sordidaque villa Tonsos, horridulos, rudes, pusillos, Hircosi mihi filios subulci.* **ignitulus:** *ignitus* 'fiery': Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1. 10 (fin.) *Mercurius, in calvitio pennatulus, in caduceo ignitulus.* **improbulus:** *improbus* 'wicked': Juv. 5. 73 *finge tamen te Improbulum.* **languidulus:** *languidus* 'faded, withered': Cic. *frag. ap. Quint.* 8. 3. 66 *Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium.* **lentulus:** *lentus* 'slow': *id. Att.* 10. 11. 2 *An existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum?* **lippulus:** *lippus* 'blear-eyed': Arn. 7. 34 *quodsi possent adscribere valitudines, aegritudines et corporales diis morbos, non dubitarent eos lienosos, lippulos atque*

¹ The deteriorative element here also comes from a desire to appear modest. Cf. *pauxillulus* and *quantulus*, sec. 38.

² The lips of the Fates were dry with age.

³ Here the emotion of contempt has faded and there is nothing left except a judgment of inferiority.

enterocelicos dicere. lividulus: lividus 'envious': Juv. 11. 110 *Omnia tunc, quibus invidias, si lividulus¹ sis. loquaculus: loquax* 'talkative': Lucr. 4. 1165 *At flagrans odiosa loquacula Lampadium fit. mendiculus: mendicus* 'beggarly': Plaut. *Ep.* 2. 2. 42 *an regillam induculam an mendiculam? paetulus: paetus* 'blink-eyed': Cic. *N.D.* 1. 29. 80 *si non tam strabones, at paetulos esse* (sc. deos) *arbitramur? pennatulus: pennatus* 'winged': Tert. *Ad Nat.*, see sub *ignitulus. peregrinulus: peregrinus* 'estranged': Ven. Fort. *Vit. Germ.* 64.² *putidulus: putidus* 'disgusting': Mart. 4. 20. 4 *Altera ridicula est, altera putidula. rabiosulus: rabiosus* 'rabid': Cic. *Fam.* 7. 16. 1 *Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas* (sc. litteras) *dedisti. rancidulus: rancidus* 'rancid, disgusting': Juv. 11. 135 *non tamen his ulla umquam obsonia fiunt Rancidula; Pers.* 1. 33 *Rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus; Mart.* 7. 34. 7 *rancidulo loquatur ore. rapidulus: rapidus* 'rapid': Mart. *Capella* 8 sec. 704 *raanae sonitum desorbentis increpuit. quo terrore et rapiduli sonitus raucitate concussi eodem se quam plures convertere. raucidulus: raucus* 'hoarse': Hier. *Ep.* 40. 2 *Volo corniculae detrahare garrienti, raucidulum³ se intelligat cornix. refractariolus: refractarius* 'refractory': Cic. *Att.* 2. 1. 3 *quod se ab hoc refractariolo judiciali dicendi genere abjunxerat, ut σεμνότερός τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος videretur. rubellus: ruber* 'red': Mart. 1. 103. 9 *Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli; Pers.* 5. 147 *Veientanumque rubellum Exhalet. rubicundulus: rubicundus* 'ruddy': Juv. 6. 425 *tandem illa venit rubicundula, totum Oenophorum sitiens. rusticulus: rusticus* 'rustic': Mart. 10. 19 *Nec doctum satis et parum severum, Sed non rusticulum nimis libellum; Aus. Idyll. Carm.* 7. 4. *Bissula, nomen tenerae rusticulum puellae. Samiolus: Samius* 'Samian': Plaut. *Stich.* 5. 4. 12 *quibus divitiae domi sunt, scaphio et cantharis, Batiocis bibunt, at nos nostro Samiolo poterio. sciolus: sciens* 'knowing': Hier. *Ep.* 125. 16 *Qui vero pauperes sunt et tenui substantiola, videntur sibi scioli. sordidulus: sordidus* 'sordid': Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 63 *Servulorum sordidulorum*

¹ Often translated 'somewhat envious,' e.g. by W. E. Weber: "Alles geeignet zum Neid, wer halbweg neiget zur Misgunst." This is possible because *lividulus* may have been originally a color term meaning 'somewhat blue,' for which cf. the group of secs. 44 ff.

² The passage is not accessible to me.

³ The text is uncertain. Others have *rancidulum*.

scorta diobolaria; Juv. 3. 149 *Si toga sordidula est. timidule* (adverb): *timidus* 'timid': App. M. 4. 8 *timidule per balneas et aniles cellulas reptantes scrutariam facitis. torosulus*: *torosus* 'muscular': Hier. Ep. 117. 8 *Dolet sibi praelatum juvenem, non quidem comatum, non vestium sericarum, sed torosulum et in sordibus delicatum. turbidulus*: *turbidus* 'confused': Prud. Apoth. 208 *Turbidulos sensus et litigiosa fragosis Argumenta modis concludent numen in unum. unctulus*: *unctus* 'anointed': Varr. ap. Non. 179. 8 *alii ita sunt circumtonsi et terti atque unctuli, ut mangonis esse videantur servi. vetulus*: *vetus* 'old': Plaut. Merc. 2. 2. 43 *vetulus decrepitus senex*; Cic. Lael. 19. 67 *ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus*; Mart. 8. 79. 1 *Omnes aut vetulas habes amicas Aut turpes vetulisque foediores.*

The following words end in *-culo-*: *acriculus*: *acer* 'sharp, testy': Cic. Tusc. 3. 17. 38 *ille acriculus . . . senex Zeno. hilariculus*: *hilaris* 'cheerful': Sen. Ep. 23. 4 *an tu existimas quemquam soluto voltu, et ut isti delicati loquuntur, hilariculo¹ mortem contemnere? jactanticulus*: *jactans* 'boasting': Aug. Adv. Ac. 3. 8 *ille Academicus jactanticulus. montaniculus*: *montanus* 'belonging to a mountain' occurs in Charis. 128 P without context, and is placed here only because contempt would seem to be the most probable use for such a diminutive. *turpiculus*: *turpis* 'homely, base': Cat. 41. 3 *Ista turpiculo puella naso*; Cic. De Or. 2. 61. 248 *jocus in turpiculis et quasi deformibus (sc. rebus) ponitur. subturpiculus*: *subturpis* 'somewhat disgraceful': id. Att. 4. 5. 1 *subturpicula mihi videbatur esse παλιωδία.*

VI. DIMINUTIVES OF QUALITY

43. In the last three chapters many words have been classified as real diminutive, hypocoristic, and deteriorative adjectives which are translated in the lexicons as diminutives of quality: e.g. *floridulus*, classified above as hypocoristic, is rendered 'somewhat blooming.' Harpers' *Lexicon* e.g. seems to have rendered similarly every adjective that possibly could be so rendered, even when it was directly opposed to the spirit of the passage quoted. Thus of *tenellulus* (sec. 34) Platner, A. J. of Phil. 16. 190, remarks: "'somewhat tender' is manifestly wrong," because it is used in a passage in which the compliment to a maiden would be made frigid and altogether

¹ Instead of *hilariculo* some manuscripts have *hilari oculo*.

spoilt by the statement that she is 'more delicate than a *somewhat* tender kid.' On the contrary, the hypocoristic interpretation of the suffix increases the compliment as intended by the poet. Similarly *ebriolus* (sec. 41) is translated 'somewhat intoxicated'—surely a very effective display of scorn to address one as '*somewhat* intoxicated person'! And aside from many other passages like the foregoing, the lexicon frequently translates in the same way adjectives used in exclamations, e.g. *quam ferocula est!* (sec. 39), or adjectives modified by an adverb meaning 'very,' e.g. *valde audaculum* (sec. 39). Such examples show that it is not worth while to recognize in every case the translation of the lexicons, but rather to interpret without reference to them. My assumption so far has been that whenever in a certain category of adjectives the translation as diminutives of quality is impossible in many instances and never necessary, that then all doubtful instances will also not belong to this group even when a single passage would admit such an interpretation.

44. Applying this principle, we find that with the exception of derivatives from adjectives designating a large size, in which the notion '*somewhat* large' is derived from the diminutive idea (secs. 21 f.), and adjectives like *sub-turpiculus* 'somewhat base' (sec. 42), in which the idea of approximation to the primitive is derived from the prefix instead of the suffix, diminutives of quality are so rare that one is almost led to doubt their existence altogether, and at the most they are confined to color terms and one or two others. But even diminutive color adjectives by no means always express an approximation to the primitive, but may be deteriorative (*rubicundulus* sec. 42) and frequently are hypocoristic, e.g. *candidulus* (sec. 31) or *mulleolus* (sec. 31). The question is, whether *all* such adjectives are not rather deteriorative or hypocoristic, whether the notion of approximation to the primitive is ever necessary.

45. The answer to this question is difficult because of the loose use of color terms in general. Whatever is reddish can also be designated as red, as when we speak of copper as the red metal. Consequently the use of a derivative in such cases proves nothing when the primitive itself may be used of the same thing, but, on the other hand, it disproves nothing. When, however, the derivative occurs only when there is a mere approximation to the color of the

primitive, we have a right to conclude that that force is added by the suffix. Even when this is not true we have a right to surmise the same thing when those passages where the derivative designates the normal color are plainly hypocoristic or deteriorative. On the other hand, these emotional elements may be the real cause for the adding of the suffix even when the color happens to merely be an approximation to that of the primitive. Consequently passages from unemotional prose writers like Cato or Pliny are of the greatest value in establishing the existence of diminutives of quality.

46. The following color terms seem to me most probably to be diminutives of quality: **albidulus** 'whitish': *albidus*. It is used of the color of the juice from drying pears: Pall. 3. 25. 12 *post mensem tertium suspensae hae carnes* (sc. *pirorum*) *liquorem dimittunt saporis jucundi sed coloris albiduli*. **albulus** 'whitish': *albus*: of water, Mart. 12. 98. 4 *Albula navi gerum per freta pandit iter*; of a species of fig, Macr. Sat. 3. 20. 1. **flammeolus** 'somewhat flame-colored': *flammeus*: of the yellow color of the *caltha* (marigold?), Col. 10. 307 *Pressaque flammeola rumpatur fiscina caltha*. The primitive designates a fiery red instead of yellow. Possibly the difference is accidental and the derivative is hypocoristic. **fulgidulus** (: *fulgidus*) possibly 'somewhat shining,' though it may be hypocoristic: Ter. Maur. v. 225 *Instar tituli fulgidula notabo milto*. **helv(e)olus** 'yellowish': *helvus* 'light bay': of the color of a certain kind of wine, Cato R.R. 6. 4, 24. 2; of the grapes, Col. 3. 2. 23 and Plin. 14. 2. 4 sec. 29 *inter purpureas nigrasque helvolae saepius variantes*. **luteolus** (: *luteus* 'golden-yellow') is certainly 'yellowish' in Col. 12. 47. 9, where it is used of the olive when first turning from white: *Oliva pausea vel orchita cum primum ex albo decoloratur, fitque luteola*; probably also 'yellowish' in Col. 9. 4. 4 *luteolaeque et Sarranae violae*. In Verg. E. 2. 50, where it is used of the golden-yellow *caltha*, it seems to be hypocoristic: *Mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha*. **nigellus** (: *niger*) means 'blackish' in Pall. 3. 25. 12, where it is used of the color of wine. We may surmise that **nigriculus**, occurring only in a grammatical note, Varro L.L. 8. 40 sec. 79, was also 'blackish.' **pullulus** 'grayish': *pullus* 'dark-gray': of the color of a kind of earth (*terra*), Col. 2. 2. 19. **rubellus** 'reddish': *ruber*: of the color of certain vines, Plin. 14. 2. 2 sec. 23 *Proxima dignitas Nomentanis*

rubente materia, quapropter rubellas adpellavere vineas; of a bald spot, Mart. Cap. 8 sec. 804 *depile rubellumque calvitium*. **rufulus** 'reddish': *rufus*: of the roots of the mandragoras, Plin. 25. 13. 94 sec. 147 *radicibus binis ternisve rufulis, intus albis*. In Plaut. *As*. 2. 3. 20, where a certain *Saurea* is said to be *rufulus aliquantum*, there may be a deteriorative element. **russeolus** 'reddish': *russeus*. In Prud. *στέφ*. 11. 130 *russeolam sanie*m refers to the blood of slain persons, so that it is not quite certain that this word differs from its primitive. Similarly **russulus** 'reddish': *russus*, which is used of a bandage: Capitol. *Albin*. 5 fin., and of a tunic: Val. Imp. *ap. Vop. Prob*. 4. **suffusculus**¹ 'somewhat brown': *suffuscus*: of the color of Egyptians, Amm. 22. 16. 23; of a Chaldaean, App. *M*. 2. 13.

47. There seems to be one diminutive of quality in the realm of taste: **acidulus** 'sourish': *acidus*. It is used of the taste of apples: Plin. 15. 15. 16 sec. 54 *Aniciana postautumnalia acidulo sapore jucunda*. It might be possible to assume rather a hypocoristic use here, but hardly when used of the taste of certain mineral waters, e.g. Plin. 2. 113. 106 sec. 230 *Lyncestis aqua quae vocatur acidula vini modo temulentos facit*.

48. Of the words of sec. 46 three, namely *helv(e)olus*, *nigellus*, and *rubellus* (cf. also sec. 42), are used of wines or vines, and with this group we may also compare the hypocoristic *vetulus* of sec. 31. By congeneric attraction to this group, which is thus partially hypocoristic in origin, arose **meraculus**: *meracus* 'pure.' It occurs in Plaut. *Cas*. 3. 5. 17 *Nisi haec meraclo se uspiam percussit flora Liberi*; Cels. 3. 19; Plin. 20. 19. 80 sec. 209 *opium ex vino meraculo si protinus detur scorpionum ictibus resistit*. There seems to be no indication of either hypocoristic use or of mere approximation to the primitive, and probably it did not differ from its primitive.

49. Mueller, *op. cit.* pp. 58 f. (note), would put in the same category also certain adjectives of material like *corneolus*: *corneus* 'of horn, horny,' but such a meaning is both highly improbable and not supported by the passage quoted, for which see sec. 25. We may then conclude that diminutives of quality are found only in color terms and in one adjective from the realm of taste. As to the

¹ The notion of approximation to the primitive is in this word due no less to the prefix *sub-* than to the suffix.

relation of this group to the preceding we cannot determine anything until after also examining the comparatively small group of adjectives in *-iusculus*.

VII. COMPARATIVE ADJECTIVES IN *-(i)USCULUS*

50. Since *-(i)usculus* is composed of the comparative *-ius* and the diminutive suffix *-culus*, it is to be expected that its meaning is sometimes merely a sum of the meaning of its two parts, i.e. comparative plus some 'diminutive' meaning, in which case we can hardly speak of a real conglomerate. We thus find a number of words in which the latter part of the suffix designates small size or is hypocoristic or deteriorative, and we will discuss these before the more characteristic cases in which the suffix designates an approximation to the primitive.

51. The suffix *-culo-* adds real diminutive meaning to the comparative degree in ***minusculus***: *minus* 'smaller.' The emphasis on the small size already indicated by the latter is the cause of the larger suffix, and *minusculus* is not 'somewhat smaller,'¹ as is shown by passages in which it is contrasted with *maior* or *maximus*, not *maiusculus*: Cic. *Qu. Fr.* 3. 1. 4 *Rescripsi epistolae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula*; Varro *R.R.* 1. 58 *Cato ait uvam Aminneam minusculam et maiorem et apiciam in ollis commodissime condi*; *ib.* 3. 5. 5 *minusculum aviarium, quod est conjunctum cum maiore ostio*. These passages show what should be the interpretation in other places where 'somewhat small' might be read into them, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 2. 51 *Addice tuam mihi meretricem minusculam*; Cato *R.R.* 12 *cupas minusculas X*.

52. In one word *-culo-* is certainly hypocoristic: ***liquidiusculus***: *liquidus* 'liquid, soft'; cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 3. 1. 69 *leniorem dices quam mutum est mare Liquidiusculusque ero quam ventus est favonius*. The comparative suffix has its full force, and to translate 'somewhat more liquid or soft,' as does the lexicon, is out of harmony with the speaker's purpose, who wants to appear as tractable as possible. In ***lautiusculus*** 'somewhat splendid or magnificent' (App. *M.* 7. 9 *vestemque lautiusculam proferunt*): *lautus* we cannot tell whether the notion 'somewhat' is due altogether to the comparative suffix, while *-culo-* is

¹ Contrast with this *maiusculus* (secs. 34, 36, 38), which is 'a little larger' or 'somewhat large.'

hypocoristic, or whether the latter merely emphasized the former, or whether it combined both functions. The same is true of the adverbs **doctiuscule** 'rather artfully' (Gell. 6. 16. 2 *Nam cum esset verbum deprecor doctiuscule positum in Catulli carmine, quia id ignorabat, frigidissimos versus esse dicebat*): **doctus** and **altiuscule** 'rather high' (App. M. 2. 7. *russea fasciola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas*): **altus**.

53. Deteriorative interpretation for **-culo-** is certain when the comparative suffix denotes an excessive degree of a quality, which would exclude another suffix with the exactly opposite notion of 'somewhat.' In this case, then, the comparative suffix itself has a deteriorative meaning¹ which is strengthened by the **-culo-**. Such a word is **tardiusculus** 'too late or too slow': **tardus**; cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 380 (frag. 8) *Pol ad cubituram, mater, magis sum exercita Fere quam ad cursuram. eo sum tardiuscula*; Ter. *Heaut.* 3. 2. 4 *Ille Cliniai servos tardiusculus est*; *Idcirco huic nostro traditast provincia*. Similarly the adverbs **longiuscule** 'too far' (Sid. *Ep.* 8. 11. 14 *longiuscule* [i.e. six pages] *me progredi amor impulit*): **longus**, **plusculum** 'too much' (Varro *R.R.* 2. 7. 10 *cum conceperunt equae, videndum ne . . . laborent plusculum*): **plus**, **tardiuscule** 'too late' (Marc. Aur. *ap. Front. Epist. M. Caes.* 5. 7 *metuo ne Lorium tardiuscule venias*), and **saepiuscule** 'too often' (Plaut. *Cas.* 3. 5. 75 according to Priscian: *saepiuscule*² *peccas*): **saepe**. In the adjective **putidiusculus** 'somewhat disgusting or tedious' (Cic. *Fam.* 7. 5. 3 *Simus enim putidiusculi, quamquam per te vix licet*): **putidus** the suffix **-culo-** may either be deteriorative or it may emphasize the idea 'somewhat' which was already present in the comparative suffix.

54. The remaining adjectives in **-(i)usculus** probably all show the notion of an approximation to the primitive. Fully half of these, however, are derivatives of adjectives denoting a large size, quantity, number, or extent: **altiusculus**, **ampliusculus**, **auctiusculus**, **grandiusculus**, **graviusculus**, **largiusculus**, **longiusculus**, **maiusculus**, **plusculus**, and **complusculi**, to which may be added the adverb **diuscule**, derived from the primitive adverb **diu** 'long.' Here it is doubtful how far the notion of 'somewhat large' is to be derived from the diminutive use of the suffix, inasmuch as e.g. **maiusculus** 'somewhat

¹ Cf. Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1². 685.

² The manuscripts of Plautus here have *saepicule*.

large' or 'a little larger' could originally have been 'rather large' plus 'small' or 'larger' plus 'small'; cf. secs. 21 f. While the notion of small size may thus have played a part here also, it is not probable that the whole category arose in that way, since the prehistoric relationship of the suffix *-(i)usculus* (sec. 11) leads us to assume the presence of the idea of approximation to the primitive from the beginning, and because we have to assume that meaning anyway for derivatives from comparatives where this development is out of the question. All the remaining words will consequently be treated together, and will be rather classified according to the signification of the comparative part of the suffix.

1. *The Comparative Suffix Distinctly Compares with Other Things Possessing the Same Quality in an Inferior Degree*

55. The diminutive suffix *-culo-* then adds to the comparative suffix the notion of approximation, e.g. while *melius-* is 'better,' *meliusculus* is 'approximately or somewhat or a little better.' In this case there is no conglutination semantically, and comparative as well as diminutive suffix retains its own force.

56. *Collection of examples.*—***duriusculus*** 'rather more hard': *durus*: Plin. *N.H.* praef. sec. 2 *duriusculum se fecit* (sc. *Catullus*) *quam volebat existimari*; Plin. *Ep.* 1. 16. 5 *inserit . . . mollibus levibusque duriusculos quosdam*. ***fortiusculus*** 'somewhat more brave': *fortis*: Sutrui ap. *Fulg. Myth.* 3. 8 *Murrinum mihi adfers quo virilibus armis occursem fortiuscula*. ***frigidiusculus*** 'rather more frigid': *frigidus*: Gell. 3. 10. 16 *Haec Varro . . . scripsit admodum conquisite. Sed alia quoque ibidem congerit frigidiuscula*. ***graviusculus*** 'a little heavier': *gravis*: *id.* 1. 11. 13 *qui fistula brevi sensim graviusculum sonum inspiraret*. ***largiusculus*** 'rather more copious': *largus*: Sol. 7 sec. 4 *subnexus parvulis largiusculos haustus facit salivarum*. ***longiusculus*** 'a little longer': *longus*: Cic. *Arch.* 10. 25 *epigramma . . . alternis versibus longiusculis*. ***maiusculus*** 'a little larger': *maior* (comp.): Ter. *Eun.* 3. 3. 21 *Thais quam ego sum maiusculast*; Plin. 26. 6. 16 sec. 30 *folia sunt maiuscula quam hederæ*. ***meliusculus***¹ 'somewhat better, convalescent': *melior* (comp.):

¹ Mueller here declared the suffix to be hypocoristic, as indeed he did generally for the words in *-(i)usculus*. This mistake was due to his idea that the hypocoristic use was the earliest for all diminutives, and that other meanings could consequently be allowed only where there was no way of reading a hypocorism into a passage.

Plaut. *Capt.* 5. 2. 6 *Si eris verax, tua ex re facies—ex mala meliusculam*; Ter. *Hec.* 3. 2. 19 *salvan Philumenast? PAM. meliusculast*; Sen. *Ben.* 1. 3 *aetate autem minore quam Horas sed meliuscula facie*; Col. 9. 3. 2 *alias infusci coloris, alias coloris meliusculae*. Similarly the adverb *meliuscule* e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 16. 5. 1 *cum meliuscule tibi esset*. *nitidiusculus* 'even a little more shining': *nitidus*: Plaut. *Ps.* 1. 2. 91 *Num quopiam est hodie tua tuorum opera conservorum Nitidiusculum caput? aut num ipse pulmento utor magis Unctiusculo? plusculus*: 'somewhat more': *plus*: Col. 12. 49. 5 *deinde exiguum aceti piperati, et plusculum melli aut mulsi adiciunt*; App. *M.* 2. 17 *Ad cuius noctis exemplar astruximus alias plusculas*; Cic. *Fam.* 5. 12. 3 *plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas*. The neuter as an adverb e.g. Sid. *Ep.* 4. 16 *deque moribus amici plusculum recto secus credere*. *unctiunculus* 'even a little more unctuous': *unctus*: see sub *nitidiusculus*.

2. The Comparative Suffix Itself Designates a Mere Approximation to the Primitive

57. When the diminutive suffix *-culo-* is added to a comparative like *altius* in the meaning 'rather high,' it merely emphasizes this notion of approximation without adding anything new, and consequently the two suffixes were no doubt usually felt as one, i.e. real conglutination has taken place.

58. Collection of examples.—*altiusculus* 'rather high': *altus*: Suet. *Aug.* 73 *calciamentis altiusculis (sc. usus est), ut procerior, quam erat, videretur*. *ampliusculus* 'rather large': *amplus*: App. *Mag.* 75 *Quid enim faciat homo miser ampliuscula fortuna devolutus? auctiusculus* 'rather lofty': *auctus*: Jul. Val. 2. 13 *eorum cornibus frondentes et auctiusculos ramos adnecti jubet*. *celeriuscule* 'rather (more) swiftly': *celer*: Auct. Her. 3. 14. 245 *Strenue quod volumus ostendere factum, celeriuscule dicemus*. *diuscule* 'rather long': *diu*: Aug. *Trinit.* 3 *cum diuscule attenderemus*. *grandiusculus* 'fairly well grown up': *grandis*: Ter. *And.* 4. 5. 19 *nam fere Grandiuscula¹ profectast illinc*. *maiusculus* 'rather large': *maior*: Cic. *Fam.* 9. 10. 3 *cum mihi sit incertum, tranquillone sis animo, an, ut in bello, in aliqua maiuscula cura negotiove versere*. *mitiusculus* 'comparatively

¹ Fleckeisen would here read *grandicula*.

mild': *mitis*: Cael. Aur. *Acut. praef.* 18,¹ of fevers. *pinguiusculus* 'somewhat fat, fattish': *pinguis*: Sol. 11. 21 *plurimum se aquilonibus credunt* (sc. *coturnices aves*), *ut corpora pinguiuscula atque eo tarda facilius provehat . . . spiritus*. *plusculi* and oftener *complusculi* 'rather many, quite a few, several': *plus*: the former, App. M. 3. 21 *arcula quadam reclusa pyxides plusculas inde depromit*; the latter, e.g. Plaut. *Rud.* 1. 2. 43 *jam hos dies complusculos*; Gell. 7. 11. 6 *Sed ex eo loco M. Tullii verba compluscula libuit ponere* (i.e. 125 words). *salsiusculus* 'rather salty': *salsus*: Aug. *Conf.* 8. 3. 7 *Et ebriosi quaedam salsiuscula comedunt, quo fit molestus ardor*.

59. It is to be noticed that the large majority of these words are post-Augustan. Their occurrence in Plautus and Cicero shows indeed that some of them were as early as other uses of the suffix, as might be expected, since the use of the comparative to designate an approximation to the primitive is a pro-ethnic one,² but the comparative frequency of these words in very late writers shows that the conglutinate *-(i)usculus* had been abstracted as a single suffix, and now formed new words with the notion of an approximation to the primitive without reference to the meaning of the comparative degree.

VIII. CONCLUSION

60. We thus see that those diminutive adjectives which denote an approximation to the quality of the primitive adjective, i.e. diminutives of quality, fall into three distinct groups: (1) derivatives from adjectives meaning 'large,' 'old,' etc. (secs. 21 ff.), ending either in *-lo-* or *-culo-*; (2) color adjectives and *acidulus* (secs. 45 ff.), all certain ones ending in *-lo-*, possibly one in *-culo-*; (3) derivatives in *-culo-* from comparatives in *-ius*. In secs. 11 f. we saw that such adjectives in *-culo-* inherited the notion of an approximation to the primitive adjective from I.E. *-ko-*, while in secs. 21 f. it appeared that the first class was derived from the meaning of small size. This is certainly true for those in *-lo-*, and may have had its influence on those in *-culo-* also. There is left to explain the use of *-lo-* in color terms and *acidulus*, the question being whether (cf. sec. 12) there is a way by which the color terms could be derived from the derivatives

¹ The passage is not accessible to me.

² Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 658 f.

of adjectives of large size, or whether we must appeal to prehistoric syncretism with *-culo-*. I for my part have no hesitation in saying that the latter is the correct alternative, since there seems to be no possible bridge by which the usage could be extended from adjectives of large size, in which the suffix would always still be felt as connected with the designation of small size, to color terms, for which such an interpretation is clearly impossible. Moreover, such a development seems to be altogether without analogy in other languages. The only objection to syncretism with *-culo-* is the fact that there is extant not a single certain color diminutive of quality in this suffix, but this may well be accidental and due to the fact that long before the beginning of the transmission *-lo-* and *-culo-* were redistributed according to formal principles (sec. 11). This early age of the development is just what we would expect also from the fact that in every other respect the development of Latin diminutives was complete in the time of Plautus,¹ who shows examples of every important variation of the use of substantival as well as adjectival diminutives.

INDEX²

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| acidulus 47, 60. | audaculus 39 f., 43. | cerritulus 42. |
| acriculus 42. | aureolus 3 n., 25, 31, 34. | cincinnatulus 40. |
| acutulus 26, 38, 41. | auritulus 42. | clanculum 31. |
| adolescentulus 11, 14 n. | austerulus 31. | claudaster 2 n. |
| aeneolus 25. | barbatulus 27, 38. | comatulus 39 f. |
| aenulum 14. | beatulus 39 f. | commodule 18. |
| aetatula 11. | bellatulus 34. | commodulum 18. |
| albidulus 46. | bellule 40. | complusculi 54, 58. |
| albulus 26, 36, 41, 46. | bellulus 34. | corneolus 25, 31, 49. |
| aliquantillum 16. | bellus 34 n. | crispulus 36, 39 f. |
| aliquantulus 16. | bimulus 19, 38. | curiosulus 35. |
| altiuscule 52. | blandicula 31. | deliculus 42. |
| altiusculus 11, 54, 58. | blandiloquentulus 11, 40. | dicaculus 28, 31, 34, 42. |
| ampliusculus 54, 58. | blandulus 34. | diuscule 58. |
| apriculus 11. | breviculus 18, 38. | doctiuscule 58. |
| argenteolus 3 n., 25. | callidulus 41. | dulciculus 31, 34. |
| argutulus 34, 42. | candidulus 31, 44. | duriusculus 56. |
| aridulus 42. | capitulum 9, 11. | ebriolus 41 ff. |
| astutulus 40. | celeriuscule 58. | eburneolus 24 f. |
| auctiusculus 54, 58. | | |

¹ Cf. Stolz *op. cit.* 574.

² The numbers refer to sections.

equulus 7.
eruditulus 36, 39 f.
exornatulus 3 n., 34.

facula 11.
farticulum 11.
feniculum 11.
feroculus 39 f., 43.
fessulus 20.
flammeolus 46.
floridulus 31, 43.
forticulus 31.
fortiusculus 56.
frigidiusculus 56.
frigidulus 32.
fulgidulus 46.
fulvaster 2 n.

gemellus 26 f., 34, 36, 42.
glabellus 31.
Graeculus 3, 26, 42.
grandiculus 2, 23, 58 n.
grandiusculus 54, 58.
graviusculus 54, 56.

helveolus 46, 48.
helvolus 46, 48.
hilariculus 42.
hilarulus 34.
horridulus 34, 42.

igneolus 31.
ignitulus 42.
improbulus 36, 42.
imulus 26.
inerticulus 20.
infantulus 14 n.
inseculus 34.
integellus 28, 34, 40.

jactanticulus 42.
juvenculus 19.

lacteolus 31, 34.
languidulus 35, 42.
largiusculus 54, 56.
lascivulus 34.
lassulus 20.
lautiusculus 52.
lecticula 10.

lentulus 36, 42.
lepidulus 31.
leviculus 38.
ligneolus 25.
limatulus 31.
limulus 41.
linguatulus 31.
linteolus 31.
lippulus 42.
liquidiusculus 52.
litteratulus 41.
lividulus 42.
longiuscule 53.
longiusculus 54, 56.
longule 22.
longulus 21 ff.
loquaculus 10, 42.
luteolus 46.

macellus 18, 38.
macriculus 18.
maiusculus 51 n., 54, 56,
58.

mammicula 11.
marcidulus 34.
mediocriculus 38.
meliuscule 56.
meliusculus 11, 55 f.
melliculus 34 n.
mellitulus 28, 34.
mendiculus 42.
meraculus 48.
meretricula 11.
miniatus 26.
minusculus 51.
minutulus 18.
misellus 28, 32 f., 38.
miserulus 32.
mitiusculus 58.
modicellus 18.
mollicellus 40.
molliculus 3 n., 31, 34, 39f.
montaniculus 42.
mulleolus 31, 44.
mundule 31, 35.
mundulus 40.
myrteolus 31.

nepotulus 11.
nigellus 2, 22, 26, 46.
nigriculus 46.
nitidiusculus 56.
nitidulus 34.
novellus 19.
nudulus 32.

oblongulus 23.
obunctulus 31.

paetulus 42.
pallidulus 20, 32.
parvulus 1, 18, 20, 22, 38.

pauculus 18, 38.
paullulus 18, 38.
pauperculus 3, 20.
pauxillulus 3 n., 18.
pauxillus 18, 38.
pennatulus 42.
perastutulus 40.
peregrinulus 42.
perlucidulus 31.
perparvulus 17 f.
perpauculus 17 f.
perpaullulum 18.
perpauxillum 18.
perpusillus 17 f.
pinguiculus 34.
pinguiusculus 58.
placidulus 32.
plusculum 53.
plusculus 54, 56, 58.
pressule 35.
pressulus 31.
primulum 19.
primulus 19.
procerulus 23.
pulchellus 28, 31, 34, 39 f.
pullulus 46.
pusillulus 18.
pusillus 18, 38.
puticuli 11.
putidiusculus 53.
putidulus 42.

quadrimulus 19.
quantillulus 16.

quantulus 16, 20, 38.
quantuluscumque 16.
quantulusquisque 16.

rabiosulus 42.
rancidulus 42.
rapidulus 42.
raucidulus 42.
ravulus 31.
refractoriolus 42.
regaliolus 26.
regillus 3 n., 31.
religiosulus 40.
rubellulus 26.
rubellus 42, 46, 48.
rubicundulus 42, 44.
rufulus 46.
russeolus 46.
russulus 46.
rusticulus 42.

saepicule 21, 23, 53 n.
saepiuscule 53.
salsiusculus 58.

Samiolus 42.
sanctulus 40.
satullus 26.
sciolus 42.
scitule 31.
scitulus 34, 38.
semiadopertulus 26.
servolus 1.
sordidulus 3 n., 42.
subargutulus 40.
subturpiculus 42, 44.
succinctulus 31, 34.
succrassulus 23.
suffusculus 46.

tabidulus 32.
tacitulus 35.
tantillus 16, 38.
tantulus 16, 38.
tardiuscule 53.
tardiusculus 53.
tenellulus 34, 43.
tenellus 3, 34, 39 ff.

tenuiculus 11 n., 18, 38.
timidule 42.
torosulus 42.
trimulus 19.
tristiculus 32 f.
tumidulus 26.
turgidulus 3 n., 32.
turpiculus 42.

ullus 18.
umidulus 34.
unctiusculus 56.
unctulus 42.
uvidulus 33.

vagulus 32.
valentulus 11, 34.
vastulus 41.
venustulus 31.
vesculus 18, 38, 42.
vetula 3.
vetulus 3, 23 n., 31, 34.
vetusculus 21, 23, 48.
vitreolus 31.

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